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616 which are related in the female line.[1] The Hawk and Eagle
614 moieties appear to extend over all of New Ireland and the Tabar islands too, and the rule of exogamy functions wherever the moieties are found. The subdivision into clans, however, seems to vary in different linguistic units.[2] Because
616 of the rule of matrilocal residence, members of a clan may
614 reside in different villages, usually in near-by ones of the
591 same linguistic unit. If, for example, a Lesu man marries a woman from Ambwa, he will usually go to live there, leaving his clan relatives at Lesu. But he will return to Lesu for all rites and events in which the latter are concerned, and he will be buried there. The female members of the clan, because of the same rule of matrilocal residence, are more likely to reside in the same village and hamlet. Also, as marriages within the same village are quite common, a man will frequently not have to change his residence upon marriage.

616 Although Eagle and Hawk are the names of the two
614 moieties, there is, as far as I could learn, no theory of descent
773 from either animal.[3] The native explanation of the origin of the moiety and clan structure as well as of the whole social organization and of the culture itself is contained in a myth about their ancestral heroine, Tsenabonpil. The narrative relates in detail how the people of Lesu went to one of the Tabar islands near by because they were afraid of a pig named Luana, who ate people. The old woman,

[1] The natives have only one word, *mutingbung*, to designate both moiety and clan. They differentiate the two by prefixing the adjective "big" for moiety, and "little" for clan.

[2] This statement is based on the literature of the area and on a limited amount of survey work which I was able to do in a few brief visits to other linguistic units.

[3] Peekel, in his study of central New Ireland, refers to these birds as gods of the marriage classes, and links them both with the sun and moon. Peekel, P. G., *Religion und Zauberei auf dem Mitteren New Mecklenburg, Collection Internationale de Monographies, Ethnologiques, Anthropos*, Tom. I, 3 Fasc., pp. 6–8. I could find no evidence for either theory.

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Tsenabonpil, was left behind because she had a swollen leg (probably elephantiasis), and it was feared that she would sink the canoe. After people left, she had intercourse with a *kuwiwi* bird, and she gave birth to twin boys, Daror and Damuramurari. When the boys grew up Tsenabonpil told them that they must kill the cannibalistic pig, Luana. After many adventures they succeeded in capturing and killing him. Then the old woman sent some of the hair of the pig, attached to a coconut leaf, to Tabar, to indicate to the Lesu people that the pig had been killed. They returned in their canoes to Tabar, and now Tsenabonpil gave them their totemic structure and all knowledge. She cut marks on a tree to designate the two moieties and then made further markings as she called out the names of all the clans. At the same time she gave them knowledge of magic, of medicine, of all their crafts, and of everything else they now know. After this she and her two sons disappeared.

There is one supposition that Tsenabonpil is still alive, but where she is no one knows, and all the versions of the myth end with her disappearance.[1]

Each clan is associated with a small piece of land, occasionally with a part of a reef, or a passage of water, and sometimes all three. This clan or *tsenalis* ground is owned communally by the clan members, and on it is supposed to dwell a totemic pig or snake (sometimes both), or, in the case of water, a shark. The adjective *tsenalis* is also used to describe the animal, which is friendly to people of its clan, but hostile to those of others. The animal is supposed to have lived on this ground for ever, and it is believed that it will continue to do so.

The following is a list of clans collected in the linguistic

[1] It was quite impossible to get the natives to speculate on their social organization before Tsenabonpil gave them their present structure. She is regarded as the source of all knowledge, and beyond that they do not go.

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Tsndiwes.
Nabuath.
Lendut (foreign).
Punbunaba.
Mulaiga.
Muhtin.

Only one folk-tale, which in any way indicated descent from the *tsenalis* animal was told to me, and that referred to the *Kaba* clan, whose totemic animal is the female snake named Muvil. The tale tells how a *kaba* man named Subling was walking in the bush and heard a child cry. On going to the place from which the cry came he found a human infant, a female child of the snake, Muvil. The man took the child home with him and told the snake mother to follow. Subling and his wife brought up the child whom they call Pusaling, and Muvil, the snake mother, remained near the house until the child reached puberty and married. She had many children, all of whom of course belonged to the *Kaba* clan.

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Besides the clan animal each piece of clan land is inhabited by the *gas*, a double of each living member of the clan. It is difficult to get a very exact idea of the *gas*, other than that each man, woman, and child possesses one, that it dies when its human counterpart dies, that it may take different forms (in one tale it appears as a dwarf), that it lives in a *lima* tree, and that it is rarely seen by its human counterpart. However, occasionally the folk-tales recount a meeting between a human being and a *gas*. One of the most interesting concerns the adventures of a man named Muk, a member of the *Sinpop* clan, who lived in the hamlet of Penguli. One day all the men of this hamlet, including Muk, went fishing, and after they caught the fish they made a fire and prepared them for cooking. They had brought no taro with them, and so Muk returned to the hamlet to

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614 get some. With the taro he received from the women, he
774 was on his way back to the men on the beach, when he
773 came upon a group of *gas*, whom he mistook for men from Penguli; his own *gas* was among them. They said, "Who are you?" and he replied "Muk," and then they showed him his *gas*, also named Muk. They told him to catch a very large fish named *Un*. This he did, but the fish was too heavy for him to lift. His *gas*, however, lifted it without any effort.[1] Muk wanted to go now and find his companions, but the *gas* would not allow him to return, and took him, unwillingly, with them to the bush.

In the meantime all the men were waiting for Muk to come with the taro; finally, they had to eat the fish without it. When they returned to Penguli, they asked the women what had happened to Muk, and they could only tell how they saw Muk start off with the taro to join the men. They assumed that Muk was dead; his wife and clan relatives wailed, and preparations were begun for the mortuary rites.

However, the next day Muk returned to Penguli and related all that had happened to him, how he was not killed by the *gas* because his own *gas* protected him and did not permit the others to kill him. Muk recounted how, when the *gas* ate, the food did not stay long in their stomachs, and how immediately after eating they defaecated. The *gas*, including his own, overheard Muk telling this tale; they were cross and immediately strangled and killed him. The *gas* were never seen again. The mortuary feast was made for Muk.

614 The clan and moiety are much more than mere totemic
616 divisions of the society, for they are also very active function-
582 ing units. Since the moieties are exogamous, they set the structure for sex life. Members of the Hawk moiety must

[1] Many other tales stress the strength of the *gas*, which can break a man in two as if he were a small branch of a tree, or lift up a house and carry it away, etc.

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her shoulders. The man may lift the woman's body towards him so that their breasts and faces touch in an embrace. At other times their bodies, except for the sexual organs, scarcely touch. There seems to be no caressing either before or afterwards.[1] The woman is conscious of the man's seminal ejection, but appears to have no knowledge of any secretion of her own.

It is usual to have intercourse just once during the night. The exact frequency varies according to couple and desire. No husband and wife appear to have it every night, and the average indulgence seems to be once or twice a week. The woman has none during her menses. If at any time she has no desire she can say "no," and she is not taken unwillingly.

A myth of the origin of copulation is of interest. A man and his wife live together, but know nothing of copulation. The husband thinks that his wife's genitalia is a big sore, and he is afraid of it. He goes to a native doctor named Kutkut and asks him to come and put medicine on his wife's "sore." Kutkut comes, passes a leaf over the fire (the usual way of preparing medicine), and then sends the husband out of the house to the seashore. While he is gone Kutkut copulates with the woman. The husband returns and asks his wife if Kutkut put medicine on the "sore," and she replies "yes."

The next day the husband notices that the "sore" is no better, and so he asks Kutkut to come again. He comes, and there is a repetition of the incident just described.

The day after this the husband notices that the

[1] There appeared, according to informants, but very little variation in the position and other details of the sexual act, but one can never be quite sure of having all the facts on such an esoteric matter, there being only a limited number of informants whom the ethnologist knows intimately enough for a discussion of these matters.

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"sore" is still no better, and Kutkut comes a third time at the husband's request. The husband angrily asks Kutkut why he does not cure the woman of her "sore," and says he thinks Kutkut is lying. Kutkut, also angry, replies that the woman has no "sore," and asks the husband indignantly why he does not understand what to do with the woman. Then Kutkut places the husband in the exact position for copulation, but still nothing happens, and the husband does not know what it is all about. Kutkut then takes a hot taro from the fire and places it on the buttocks of the man. This makes him start, and involuntarily he acts. The man exclaims, "Ah, good, very good, wonderful, I like it very much." From this time on copulation has been known.

I was told at the end of the tale that if Kutkut had not shown the man there would be no children. When I asked the question as to how the husband and his wife and Kutkut came into existence there was no answer, and it was just regarded as the foolish question of an anthropologist.

BIRTH CONTROL AND ABORTION

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These Lesu people are fully aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, although they do not know the exact physiological process by which the embryo is formed. However, they think they have a method of control over birth. There are certain leaves which are supposed to have the power of making a woman sterile, and others which are said to have an abortive value. To produce sterility or abortion several leaves are taken in succession. The leaves are chewed, the juice swallowed, and the pulp spit out.[1] Natives swear by the efficacy of these leaves. But

[1] See Medical Knowledge, pp. 293–297, for a detailed description of leaves and their use, and possible medical value.

l: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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842 affirms that copulating with her husband afterwards makes the children his. One woman, Numda, was an exception, and frankly told me that two different lovers were the fathers of two of her children. She said she knew this was so because of the resemblance of the children to their respective fathers. Her husband knows it too, as did also the two fathers, one of whom gave *tsera* to his child. Both the lovers died when the children were quite young.

848 851 In this society, where every woman has a husband who accepts all of her children regardless of their actual father, there are no illegitimate children. But, as always, the usual exceptions occur, and there are a few unmarried women—a widow who has not yet remarried, or some young girl who has not married for some reason or other as soon as she has come of age.[1] Now if such an unmarried woman becomes pregnant her lover is under no obligation to marry her, and takes no responsibility for any issue. First, he does not know if the child is really his, as the woman has probably had several lovers. Secondly, all he wanted was intercourse, not marriage, and the Melanesian distinguishes very clearly between the two. His attitude is in striking contrast to that of the husband, who accepts all of his wife's children as his own, regardless of whether they actually are or not. Should an unmarried woman have children, there is no social ostracism of her or the children. Landa, the widow with ringworm disease, has already been mentioned. Her children have no father, but both they and the mother have a social position in the community equal to anyone, and are not affected by the lack of a father and husband. While no disgrace is attached to a fatherless child, still it is considered unfortunate not to have a father, one of the

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[1] To-day the reason may be that her betrothed is away working on a plantation, and she is waiting for him to return. But even in the past there were occasionally women who were not married as soon as they came of age. See the individual life histories.

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reasons for which is reflected in the myth of the Warawara *malanggan*.

This myth tells the tale of how some *malanggans* were being displayed, and the men were eating at a feast for them in the enclosure. They refused to let a fatherless boy (an illegitimate one in our sense) join them because he had no *tsera* and no pig. His mother has no husband from whom he can get them. The boy's mother is sorry for him, and says she will teach him how to make a new *malanggan*, so she makes the Warawara *malanggan*. When it is finished she holds a great feast.

In this tale it is the economic motive which appears to be uppermost. The boy is not invited to the feast because he has not contributed anything. However, in actual practice, as in the case of Landa's children, the clan relatives of the fatherless child and the mother would come to his aid with the necessary *tsera*. In the myth it is only the mother who comes to his aid. In discussing hypothetical cases with informants, they all told me that the clan relatives would always help these fatherless children.

FAMILY SENTIMENTS

We have seen, in general, how sexual life outside of marriage fits into the social scheme, and how it may have a certain economic significance in the family life. There remains still the question of whether it has any deeper emotional and personal significance in the life of the family. What is the attitude of the husband towards his wife's lovers? Although we find one social attitude, there is no one inflexible attitude for all husbands. In accordance with the difference in the temperament of the individuals, we find husbands taking varied attitudes toward the lovers of their wives. Some men are jealous, and some are not. Some men gladly accept the *tsera* from their wives, who have received it from their lovers,

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The *malanggans* vary in appearance; some are the figure of one man, while others are intricate carvings containing the figures of several people, each one representing a dead clan relative. Still others have various birds, fish, and snakes on them. The animals used seem to be merely familiar ones of the environment, and without any totemic significance. Another kind, such as the *Warawara*, is finely decorative, with the *kepkep* (breast ornament) in the centre. Each *malanggan* will also be known as a male or female one. They are usually brightly painted, red and yellow being the dominant colours. A photograph facing page 120 shows one of them.

The right to make each *malanggan* is owned by an individual, usually an important old man of a clan. The other members of his clan are considered as part-owners with him, and would be reimbursed at a sale of one. The old man is more a custodian. He may sell this privilege to another person, and the individual making the sale loses the right to make this particular *malanggan*, and he must therefore later buy the right to make another one. The description of one such sale has already been described.[1] It was a big economic transaction, and one of the main ways in which large amounts of currency pass from one group to another.

The *malanggan* is made by a skilled carver, who is paid for his services. The clan owner sits beside him and shows him the design. The work is always done in a small house erected for the purpose, and only the male clan owners of the *malanggan* besides the carver are allowed to enter it. The house is destroyed after the work is finished.

Myths about the origin of different *malanggans* give the source as a dream. For instance, in the myth of the origin of the *Walik malanggan*, a man named Lunguma, who lived in Tabar, fell asleep while he was working in his garden. While asleep his *gas* appeared in a dream and showed him

[1] See pp. 210–224.

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how to make the *Walik malanggan* and all the dances and other aspects of the rites connected with it. Just before he died Lunguma passed on this information to a clan relative, and so it has come down to the present time. This is a rather typical dream origin for most of the *malanggans*, except that for a few of them a woman has the dream. In that case she passes on the knowledge immediately to her son. The setting in most of these myths is in Tabar.[1]

Accompanying each *malanggan* are special rites, including dances, feasts, and other ritual, which have been described in their particular context. Many of the dances are interchangeable for different *malanggans*, but certain aspects of the rites, as, for example, the women walking to neighbouring villages and collecting food on the way in the concluding rites for the *Walik malanggan* (displayed at the initiation rites), and the particular way in which the women group themselves for their feast at the *Sasabwan malanggan* rites (at Logagon), are peculiar to these particular *malanggans*. But regardless of the differences in appearance and in details of rites, they all have the same general function. While they are made in honour of the dead, their making bestows prestige on the living. Should a Lesu man not make a *malanggan* for a dead mother or maternal uncle, he would fall very low in prestige, but there would be no effect on the dead person or his ghost. For, to the Melanesian native, the *malanggan* represents wealth, and not to have this for the proper ritual uses is indeed a serious matter. The identification of the carvings with wealth came out in many ways: if a man did not make a *malanggan*, it was scornfully said by everyone in the community that he did not have any wealth; in the speeches at the *malanggan* rites, stressing the wealth which had gone into their making; in an incident

[1] It seems likely that the *malanggans* came originally from the Tabar group of islands, and an investigation there might disclose more facts about their real nature.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Fatmilak there are numerous sub-divisions which appear to have an important bearing in matters relating to land. The place of the sub-division in the life of the people between Kavieng and Fatmilak is a subject for further investigation. 614

However small its place in the groups north of Fatmilak, the sub-division of the people between Limalaua and Karu plays a most important part in social organization, culture and economic and land transactions. It constantly crops up in the mythology, and appears to be the unit of all important social phenomena. The sub-division may be an earlier form of social organization than the dual grouping into which the numerous sub-divisions are now divided. In the bush group of Limalaua I was given vague information to the effect that the sub-divisions of the eagle *minungak* are also sub-divisions of *ilok*, a black bush bird, and that the sub-divisions of the hawk *yarangam* are sub-divisions of *kugigama* an owl, but I had neither the time nor the opportunity to discover exactly what this meant.

During land inquiries held by me a whole series of stories was revealed, connected with the mythical origin of some of the sub-divisions, the members of which are now widely dispersed, some of them far from the villages where the groups are said to have originated. When land has to be bought from natives, claimants spring up from every direction, many of them far away from the land in question. The stories also account for certain migratory movements of the members of the sub-divisions, and shed an interesting light on such factors as inter-marriage and fission in the dispersal and distribution of social groupings. 773 614

The social groupings, therefore, to which an individual has definite obligations are his sub-division, his clan, his totem, his place of residence and his village or political unit, each of which plays an important part in regulating his material and cultural life. 614 621

Between Fatmilak and Karu the land appears to be owned by the sub-divisions or sub-groups, and each member of a sub-group appears to have vague individual rights to certain portions of the land of his group. He has, for instance, the right to allow any person, either of his own or the opposite clan, to make a garden on his land, which privilege, on the death of the holder, is subsequently inherited by his sister's children and own children. He has also the right to allow any person to plant coco-nut trees or any other useful trees on the land, and these trees may also be inherited as above. No person, however, appears to be able to dispose of any land without the consent of the other members of his sub-group, and, when payment is eventually made for the land purchased, all persons sharing in the benefits of the land share also in the purchase money. This is paid to the sub-group owners, and by them distributed according to their obligations. 423 614 [428]